

Message Text

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PAGE 01 SOFIA 02295 201131Z

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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 4 SOFIA 2295

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13. BULGARIA IN THE WARSAW PACT. AS THE POINT OF CONTACT BETWEEN THE WARSAW PACT AND THE NATO SOUTHERN FLANK, BULGARIA'S ASSIGNED ROLE IN THE PACT PROBABLY IS LIMITED TO SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE. MOST LIKELY, IT IS CHARGED WITH CONTAINING AN ATTACK FROM OR, IF CONDITIONS APPEAR FAVORABLE, LEADING AN ATTACK TOWARD THE SOUTH OR SOUTHEAST. BECAUSE ROMANIA HAS SUCCEEDED IN ESTABLISHING A PRECEDENT PROHIBITING MOVEMENT OF FOREIGN FORCES ACROSS ITS BORDER, BULGARIA TO A DEGREE IS ISOLATED FROM PACT EXERCISES AND TRAINING. AIR AND SEA TRANSPORT ARE LIMITED AND ARE NOT USED FOR THE DELIVERY OF LARGE NUMBERS OF BULGARIAN TROOPS TO AREAS IN WHICH THEY PROBABLY WOULD NOT BE EMPLOYED. CONSEQUENTLY, BULGARIA SENDS ONLY TOKEN FORCES AND OBSERVERS TO THE LARGER PACT EXERCISES.

14. WITHIN THE WARSAW PACT, AS IN OTHER FIELDS, BULGARIA HAS BEEN THE MOST LOYAL AND RELIABLE OF THE SOVIET ALLIES. THIS, COUPLED WITH ITS GREAT DEPENDENCE UPON
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SOFIA 02295 201131Z

SOVIET ECONOMIC AND MILITARY SUPPORT, OBVIATES ANY RE-

QUIREMENT FOR A STILL GREATER SOVIET ROLE IN THE BULGARIAN MILITARY. THERE IS NO SUBSTANTIAL EVIDENCE THAT THE SOVIET ROLE IS INCREASING. ALL SENIOR BULGARIAN OFFICERS ARE RUSSIAN-TRAINED (IN FACT, SOME SERVED IN THE RED ARMY IN WORLD WAR II). SOVIET ADVISERS ARE BELIEVED TO BE FOUND DOWN TO THE DIVISION LEVEL, AND THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT SOME ADVISE IN SPECIALIZED OR TECHNICAL UNITS EVEN BELOW THAT LEVEL.

15. BULGARIAN FOREIGN POLICY (OTHER THAN TOWARD US). THE MAJOR ELEMENTS OF BULGARIAN FOREIGN POLICY COINCIDE IN DIRECTION AND OVERALL EMPHASIS WITH THOSE OF THE SOVIET UNION. THE PRINCIPAL THRUST OF BULGARIAN POLICY AT THE PRESENT TIME IS BETTER RELATIONS WITH ITS BALKAN NEIGHBORS, WITH THE "THIRD WORLD" AND, GUARDEDLY, WITH THE WEST. CHINA, CHILE AND ISRAEL ARE THE ONLY COUNTRIES CURRENTLY SUBJECTED TO CONSISTENT DENUNCIATION IN THE BULGARIAN PRESS.

16. IN THE BALKANS, WHILE BULGARIA IS NOT LIKELY TO TAKE ANY INITIATIVE TOWARD YUGOSLAVIA OR ROMANIA THAT IS NOT COMPLETELY COORDINATED WITH THE USSR, IT HAS DISPLAYED A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF ORIGINALITY IN ITS RELATIONS WITH GREECE AND TURKEY. WHEN THE COLONELS' REGIME WAS OVERTHROWN, WE HAD THE EXTRAORDINARY PHENOMENON OF BULGARIA POINTING WITH PRIDE TO ITS CORRECT RELATIONS WITH THAT DISTASTEFUL REGIME AS EVIDENCE OF THE CONSTANCY OF ITS POLICY OF CULTIVATING GOOD RELATIONS WITH GREECE. WITH REGARD TO TURKEY, WHICH IS PROBABLY THE MOST DISLIKED OF BULGARIA'S NEIGHBORS, WE ARE WITNESSING AN IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS WHICH, WHILE NO DOUBT APPROVED BY THE USSR, CORRESPONDS TO BULGARIAN SELF-INTEREST IN EXPLOITING ITS POSITION ON THE OVERLAND ROUTE TO THE OIL-RICH COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST.

17. RECENTLY THE BULGARIANS HAVE BECOME FOND OF SPEAKING OF THEIR GROWING "AUTHORITY" IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, BY WHICH THEY SEEM TO MEAN A GREATER ACCEPTANCE OF BULGARIA AS A WORTHWHILE INTERLOCUTOR OUTSIDE CEMA AND THE WARSAW PACT. A VIGOROUS PROGRAM OF INVITATION

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 SOFIA 02295 201131Z

TIONAL DIPLOMACY, COUPLED WITH EXTENSIVE FOREIGN TRAVEL BY THE BULGARIAN LEADERSHIP, ARE KEY ASPECTS OF CURRENT POLICY. MUCH OF THIS SEEMS TO REVOLVE AROUND THE PERSONALITY (AND PERSONALITY CULT) OF PRESIDENT ZHIVKOV.

18. WHILE IT IS OBVIOUS THAT BULGARIA COORDINATES ITS POLICIES CLOSELY WITH THE USSR AND COLLECTIVELY IN CEMA

AND THE WARSAW PACT, THERE IS VERY LITTLE EVIDENCE THAT IT COMPARES NOTES WITH OTHER EE COUNTRIES ON HOW THEY DEAL INDIVIDUALLY WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES. THE BULGARIANS UNDERSTAND WHY OUR RELATIONS WITH ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA ARE AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE CLOSER AND MORE CORDIAL. BUT THEY DO NOT LOOK OVER THEIR SHOULDERS FOR CLUES IN RELATIONS WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HUNGARY OR THE

GDR. ANY TIME SEQUENCING WE MAY EMPLOY FOR CONCLUSION OF AGREEMENTS WUDH THOSE COUNTRIES WILL SIMPLY GO UNNOTICED IN BULGARIA, WHICH IS NOT IN THE HABIT OF COMPARING ITSELF TO THEM IN SUCH MATTERS.

19. CSCE. AS OF THE MOMENT, CSCE HAS PRODUCED

NO OBVIOUS CHANGES IN BULGARIAN BEHAVIOR. THE LATTER STAGES OF THE CONFERENCE, THE SUMMIT MEETING IN HELSINKI, AND THE FINAL ACT ITFQLF ALL RECEIVED ENORMOUS AND FAVORABLE COVERAGE. A FAIRLY COMPREHENSIVE SUMMARY OF THE PROVISIONS OF ALL "BASKETS" APPEARED IN THE PRESS AT THE TIME OF SIGNING, THOUGH THE ACT IN ITS ENTIRETY HAS YET TO BE PUBLISHED. WE HAVE, HOWEVER, BEEN ASSURED BY FOREIGN MINISTER MLADENOV THAT THE FULL TEXT IS ABOUT TO BE PRINTED.

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